COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"*Mr. Nares commences his attack upon the Farmers; accuses them of cruelty and avarice; raises the "old cry of monopoly; and expresses some doubts, whether the better way would not be, to subject their "granaries to the controul of an exciseman, and to levy heavy penalties upon those, in whose possession "corn, beyond a certain quantity, to be fixed by law, should be found. This style of reasoning is par-"donable enough in those who argue from the belly, rather than the brains; but in a well-fed and "well-educated clergyman, who has never been disturbed, by hunger, from the free exercise of cultiva-"ted talents, it merits the severest reprehension.* EDINBURGH REVIEW, Vol. I. p. 129.

SOUTH AMERICA.

SIR.—Previous to the Treaty of Amiens, that treaty which its authors told us was "*a peace of experiment*," but which, might with more propriety have been called "*the "superfluity of experiment*," many persons seemed to believe in the possibility of living at peace with new modelled France. The "*experiment*," however, soon convinced them of the fallacy of this opinion; and men of all parties now agree in considering the actual situation of France—that is to say, her enormous aggrandizement, which places so many million of men at her disposal, together with all the ports of Europe from Cuxhaven to Venice; the nature of her government, which acknowledges no law but convenience and caprice, and no means but violence; the present temper of her people, who seem to desire no other recompence for the disgraceful slavery in which they are held by a Corsican usurper, than the plunder and subjugation of other nations; and, above all, the occupancy of every part of the Ocean from Ferrol to the mouth of the Elbe—as the immediate cause of imminent, perpetual, and ever increasing danger to Great Britain. And thus, though all are desirous of peace, no one dares to hope for it, because every one feels it to be impossible in the actual situation of things. The first condition of a treaty with Buonaparté should be, the destruction of the flotillas destined for the invasion of this country; and who is weak enough to imagine him disposed to listen to such a demand?—— There is, too, another point on which there appears to be but one opinion; namely, the impossibility on the part of Great Britain, of making, single-handed, any considerable impression on France. It is acknowledged that she is sufficiently powerful to conquer, single-handed, the colonies of her enemy, to assist the maritime countries in casting off the yoke of their task-master, to harass his trade by confining it to what he may carry on by land or in neutral bottoms, in a word, to perplex him in every possible shape; but, it is denied, that she can ever succeed in tearing from him, by force of arms, those countries from which he immediately threatens the destruction of Great-Britain.—— Thus far, men of all descriptions are entirely agreed; but, the moment they enter upon the nature of the warfare to be carried on against an enemy so powerful and so inveterate, they fly off into two distinct parties. —— The former tell us: 1. that since Great Britain cannot deliver Europe from the yoke of France, nor confine that restless and ambitious nation within its ancient limits, we ought therefore to abandon the Continent to its own fate, that is to say, to those divisions and to that spirit of weakness and irresolution which announce its approaching destruction, unless those powers who are still respectable do not speedily rally round that standard, which the sovereign of the most extensive empire in the universe has so nobly raised in support of a cause, in which neither his rivals nor his enemies can possibly impute to him the slightest motive of personal ambition: 2. that we ought to confine ourselves to placing the country in such a state of defence as shall take from the enemy the desire of attempting an invasion: 3. that in abandoning to him the empire of the Continent, we ought to reserve to ourselves the empire of the seas, and seek in our industry and in the extension which will thereby be given to our commerce, the means of supporting that state of defence, which, though necessary, is acknowledged on all hands to be extremely burthensome to the nation. In short, the advocates of this system confine the policy of Great-Britain to this—"*that she ought "always to be at war and never conquered.*" They have taken for their emblem a porcupine with its quills bristled, and occasionally darting them at the tyger seeking to devour it: their motto is "*Noli me tangere.*"—— The advocates of the defensive system are not without arguments in support of their doctrine. They tell us: 1. that though this state of habitual defence may be expensive to Great-Britain, the state of habitual menace which France has adopted is not less so

to that country: 2. that though sums to an enormous amount may be expended to obtain this object, the whole of the money so expended remains in the country; while, on the contrary, the sums which would otherwise be laid out in subsidies, or for the payment of troops employed on the Continent, would be entirely lost to this country: 3. that war secures to Great-Britain an exclusive commerce, and, consequently, a vast increase of revenue to its government: 4. that if, by the tyranny of the Despot of Europe, commerce is thrown for a time out of its natural channel, fresh ones will be opened by contraband traffic: and lastly, the advocates of this system never fail to prop up their arguments for totally separating the interests of Great-Britain from those of the Continent, by invectives against the pusillanimity, the bad faith, and the selfishness of the powers of the Continent, by common place observations on the inefficacy of war-like coalitions, and by methodistical cant on the unchristian like conduct of paying for the effusion of human blood.—— The other party, leaning upon the example of all ages, and more particularly upon the principles of policy constantly pursued by the British nation, maintain, that since the danger which at present threatens Great-Britain arises solely from the overgrown power of France, it is not by a system purely defensive, a system as precarious as it is humiliating and expensive, that she ought to be secured from it, but by striking at the very root of the evil, that is to say, by setting bounds to this monstrous and overgrown power: that if England cannot, single-handed, accomplish this desirable object, she ought cordially and actively to unite with the powers of the Continent actuated by the same motive, not by making a trifling diversion beneficial only to herself, for the purpose of seizing a few colonies, which would only withdraw a portion of the defenders of the mother country for the moment, but by directing a powerful and efficacious attack against the weak side of the common enemy: that to keep England in a constant state of alarm, Buonaparté has only to spread the major part of his troops between Brest and the Texel, where they are not more expensive to him, than they would be in any other part of his frontiers: that the money employed on the Continent in subsidies or otherwise, is not, as some affect to tell us, lost to Great-Britain, inasmuch as this same money must, in the long run, and even in the course of a few years, return to the nation which is the most industrious, in payment for articles with which that industry supplies the Continent: that though, by means of a contraband traffic, commerce may succeed in opening the channels which violence would close, the system of contraband acts always as a fresh duty on the value of the merchandize, and that Buonaparté being the supreme director of all the contraband trade carried on in the countries subject to his dominion, and the only receiver of duties arising therefrom, this duty on the goods exported thither from Great Britain operates almost entirely to his advantage, and may be continued at his discretion: that in proportion as Buonaparté strengthens and extends his dominion, this alternate system of prohibition and pillage will also be extended and strengthened: that it is not new colonies nor raw materials, that Great Britain stands in need of, but fresh markets for them: that though, on the one hand, the rigorous exclusion of British goods for one, two, or three years, would be severely felt by the countries subject to the will of Buonaparté, it would, on the other, be ruinous to Great-Britain and completely destructive to her manufactures: that a system purely defensive would make Great Britain a world separate and distinct from the rest of the habitable globe, "*penitus* "*toto divisos orbe Britannos:*" that by thus separating themselves from their fellow-creatures, Englishmen would subscribe to that system of banishment which their implacable enemy has pronounced against them, and which he is now striving by every means, both of cunning and of violence, to put into execution: that though in a recent publication, a partisan of the defensive system has enumerated several enterprises, which failed of success because they were either badly planned, badly executed, or undertaken merely by way of *experiment* (for now a days politics and war, like chemistry and physics, are become *experimental* sciences) it would, nevertheless, be no difficult task to point out others of a nature far more important, and which, by a happy co-operation of the navy of England with the land forces of her continental allies, would assuredly be attended with the desired success; and that, consequently, the great object of British policy should be, to rouze the powers of the Continent, both by her example and her co-operation, to a re-union of their forces against the disturber of their repose: lastly, that should all these efforts prove unsuccessful, should these powers, insensible to the noble example presented by Russia and Sweden, still persist in their fatal inactivity, it will then be the duty of England to explore in distant countries fresh sources of riches and

of power, beyond the reach of the envy of her rivals and the fury of her enemies.—— On this point, too, men of all descriptions entertain but one opinion; they differ however, as to the mode of execution. The plan which appears to be most in favour, is that of *revolutionizing* America! ——Against a doctrine so monstrous, and which, to the disgrace of the age we live in, is broached in all conversations and openly avowed in recent publications, it is high time to enter a protest. Good God, Sir, *to revolutionize!!* And have we, then, forgotten, that this word, invented to describe the most terrible scourge that can possibly afflict the human race; that this word, unfortunately so comprehensive, expresses the union of every evil—universal plunder and proscription, assassination in all its shapes, a systematic confiscation of property, the overthrow of all laws divine and human, of all institutions religious and political; and as a definite result, according to the political circumstances of the society to which it attaches, either complete anarchy and a degradation of civilized life to that of the brute creation, or an execrable tyranny submitted to as a remedy for the evils which gave it birth? But, moral considerations apart, let us inquire into the political consequences of such a plan to Great Britain, supposing her government so far destitute of principle, as to have recourse to it.—Seeing that France has succeeded in arrogating to herself either a complete dominion or a preponderating influence over the rest of Europe, which it is not in the power of England to snatch from her, it becomes the duty of the British government, say the advocates of the revolutionary system, to endeavour to obtain, by means of her naval superiority, a similar dominion over those parts of the globe, which, from their too great distance, are placed beyond the reach of French arms; but more especially over South America, which country is truly considered as an inexhaustible source of riches; and the means proposed for the attainment of this object is to *revolutionize* it. Not to enter into useless considerations, let us lay aside generalities, and particularize the subject of this discussion.——The United States form no part of our inquiry. The portion of America inhabited by tribes of savages is sheltered from all revolutions, except those slow but salutary changes which the progressive civilization of the adjoining countries may, in the course of time, spread over the face of those extensive territories. The project, therefore, extends only to Spanish and Portuguese America.——It cannot be credited for a moment, that such a line of conduct could, without exciting the deepest indignation, be proposed towards a monarchy, which, in circumstances the most critical, maintained an unshaken fidelity to its engagements at the peril of its existence, and at a moment too when Great Britain, distracted by other cares, could not lend it the assistance necessary to its preservation, and which in all probability, did not without the consent of the British government, treat with an enemy, who has not yet pardoned its attachment to this country.——But, say these revolutionary advocates, what the uninterrupted good understanding between Portugal and England would not permit with regard to the Brazils, the secret enmity of Spain for Great Britain, and her open partiality to France, would fully justify with respect to Spanish America. Viewing the subject in this light, will the British government attempt the conquest of those immense territories, or, wisely distrusting their ability to effect so vast an enterprize, will they prefer the odious alternative of *revolutionizing* them, in the hope of turning their commerce exclusively into our hands?——On the project of conquering Spanish America, I shall say but two or three words. At a moment when the threats of invasion employ the whole military strength of the United Kingdom, when the difficulty of protecting distant acquisitions would be still greater than that of conquering them, when Malta, and Gibraltar, which are, as it were, but two points, require such considerable garrisons, where would the British government find troops to send out to conquer Mexico and Peru? Where would she find the garrisons necessary to occupy the principal ports and posts of this boundless territory, of which Great Britain, in point of extent, would form but a small province? How would this handful of men be able to support themselves against the influence of a destructive climate, and the hatred and incessant attacks of a numerous population, entertaining the strongest antipathy to strangers, and totally differing from their conquerors in their laws, their manners, their customs, and, above all, in their language and religion? Where would the British government find recruits to supply the loss occasioned by a constant warfare against the climate and the inhabitants? What envy would not such a conquest excite in every court of Europe, incessantly told as they are by our enemy, that England arrogates to herself the despotism of the seas, and a monopoly of the commerce of the world? Above all, what alarm would it not excite in the breasts of our commercial rivals, I mean the United States of America! And, in case of a rupture with that country,

what means of annoyance would not the contiguity of Old and New Mexico with Louisiana constantly afford them!——If I am asked, whether I think it possible to *revolutionize* those countries, I answer, yes! Throughout there reigns the greatest discontent against a government situated at a distance, too weak to protect its subjects, but sufficiently powerful to impose the severest restrictions, not only on their trade, but upon the very produce of their soil. But, supposing this event to take place, let us examine what the consequence would be to Great Britain. To do this with some degree of precision, it will be necessary to consider a little the nature of the population of Spanish America. The inhabitants may be divided into five distinct classes: 1. A handful of native Spaniards, who repair thither to pass a few years, and who occupy every lucrative post under the government: 2. An incomparably more numerous class of Spanish descent, who, though excluded from public situations, possess nearly all the lands and riches of the country. 3. A very considerable number of native families, who, like the peasantry of Poland and Russia, are attached by law to the spot on which they were born. 4. A pretty numerous class of negroes and mulattoes, partly slaves and partly freed men. 5. Although the above classes appear to comprise the whole population, there nevertheless springs out of them a fifth class, or rather body, totally distinct from the other four, I mean the clergy. It is extremely powerful, not only from the number of those who compose it, but from its immense riches, the hierarchy of its members, and, above all, its influence over the other classes, and more especially the inferior ones——The first four of these classes are divided from each other by the strongest antipathy: among the two former, who are united by one common origin, by education, and by the rank they hold in society, I mean the Spaniards born in Europe and the Creoles, is this hatred carried to the greatest excess. From this classification of the inhabitants, this distribution of employs and possessions, this weakness of the government, it necessarily follows, that the introduction of republican principles would be the signal for the total subversion of the existing government; that in the struggles that would arise in forming a new one, all classes would join in expelling the native Spaniards; and that, this done, the two last classes, to which may be added all the poor among the class of Creoles, forming a population infinitely more numerous than the proprietors, would unite in exterminating, or at least plundering those proprietors, of whose weakness and indolence no European can form an idea; that this accomplished, those vast territories, peopled solely by unfettered slaves or indolent savages, would sink into a state of profound barbarism, and so much the more rapidly, as the mildness of the climate and the extent and richness of the soil would furnish a spontaneous subsistance to men, knowing no wants, and to whom repose is the *summum bonum*, whatever may be the riches concealed in the bowels of the earth, or ready to burst forth with the slightest cultivation. In such a state, what advantages, I ask, would Spanish America present to the commerce and industry of Great Britain? The revolutionary system would have made it one vast desert covered over with dead bodies and watered with human gore, and inhabited only by a few tribes of savages disputing their wretched existence with the wild beasts.—— I shall not amuse either myself or your readers with another plan, which is said to have been in circulation a few weeks ago. I mean the project of seizing the mines of Peru and Mexico, for the purpose *of paying off our national debt!* I did imagine, Sir, that ever since the fruitless attempt of Sir Walter Raleigh, we had relinquished the idea of conquering the country of Eldorado, where, we were told, the very fleece of the sheep and the flints of the roads are of solid gold. If, however, any of our monied men should wish to estimate the value of this new hypothesis, they have only to calculate the quantity of metal, half the amount in gold, and half in silver, (at *sixty* pound sterling per pound for the gold, and *four* for the silver), necessary to liquidate 600 millions of capital, and they will find it would require a mass of 5 millions of pounds weight of gold, and 75 of silver, making in all a total of 80 millions of pounds weight! And, supposing the Spaniards to keep their gold and silver at the entrance of their mines, ready to be sent away in waggons, it would require, at the rate of one thousand pounds weight to each horse, no fewer than eighty thousand horses to carry off the treasure! I must also beg leave to remind these money loving gentry, that the roads of these countries, more especially in the Cordilleres, are by no means so smooth and so even as the turnpike roads round our metropolis. Such mad projects may possibly amuse the greedy credulity of stock-jobbers and loan-mongers, but it is a gross insult to the British nation, and discovers a total ignorance of her powers and her integrity, to advise her to trust chiefly for

resources to expeditions fit only for free-booters.——A few words more on the Brazils. I will not waste any time in combatting the project of revolutionizing that country, or of wresting it from our oldest and most constant ally, seeing that such an act of atrocity would be repugnant to the character of Britons; but I maintain, that to occupy certain ports with the view of anticipating the enemy, and to connive, as it were, at the loss of Portugal in Europe, that the Portuguese monarchy might be transferred either with her own consent or by force into the Brazils, would be not less contrary to our acknowledged interests, commercial as well as political.——In the very outset, the dissimulation that would envellop the execution of such a project, has something in it so odious, that it would for ever disgrace the British name. Such a step on our part would instantly determine France to invade Portugal, not in the character of an enemy, but as her liberator; and the state of uncertainty in which the court of Lisbon would be kept as to our real intentions, would serve only to facilitate the invasion, by taking from her all hope of resistance. The soreness which Portugal must feel at seeing her distant possessions invaded by those to whom she looked up for assistance, together with the hope of recovering the Brazils, would probably throw the Portuguese nation and government into the arms of France; and, in that case, it must be confessed that we should have the appearance of driving them to such an extremity. At a moment when the French are blocked up in all their ports, to entertain a fear lest they should reach the Brazils with an armament before us, would, to say the least of it, be ridiculous; but, to doubt whether or no France, allied to Portugal, would not, from time to time, be able to elude our cruizers and reach the Brazils in small bodies, or at least by their emissaries, is certainly not so. At a time, Sir, when we were so deeply interested in excluding France from all access to the coast of Egypt, and when our squadrons formed as it were one chain from Plymouth to Egypt, by Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Mahon, and Malta, did not Buonaparté, and others, escape from Egypt and land safe in France? and, what is still more difficult to effect, have not whole squadrons sailed and returned from Brest to Toulon and from Toulon to Brest? The Portuguese troops in the Brazils are, as it were, rendered useless, by the weakness of the counsels of Lisbon; but, the inhabitants once set in motion and under the direction of French officers and French emissaries, supplied, too, with occasional succours from that country, and above all, goaded on by their rage against those, who, under the mask of protection, had basely endeavoured to establish themselves by open force in their country, would prepare for us the same fate which the Dutch experienced formerly in the same regions. We should, probably, be strong in one spot of those immense territories, but weak in every other; we should be now at secret and now at open warfare with the inhabitants; we should be blocked up in Rio Janeirio, as the Dutch were in Fernambouc, and finish with being repulsed, after an irreparable loss of men, and an expense of which we can form no calculation.—Whatever degree of fear or hope we may have entertained, that certain restless characters would be found in the Brazils, ready to profit by the opportunity of making their country independent, we ought not to conceal from ourselves, that (excepting the negroes and a few tribes of civilised Indians) it is a country, the population of which is remarkably compact, and composed intirely of Portuguese descendants; that all the inhabitants possess the same language, the same laws, the same manners and customs as the Portuguese of Europe; and, that the law of Portugal makes no distinction between a man born in the Brazils and one born in Europe. We ought also to remember, that if the Brazilians are not now the property of the Dutch, it is not from the assistance afforded them by the mother-country, but from their own efforts, and against the formal demand of their Sovereign, John the IVth., who, finding himself by the revolution which seated him on the throne, not only at peace, but in alliance with the Dutch, enjoined them to submit implicitly to the States General. The Brazilians, however, constantly refused to obey; they entered into a bloody warfare with that nation, and, in spite of the injunction of their monarch, again became his subjects.—Let us now examine whether Great Britain would receive from the independence of the Brazils, and the removal of the Portuguese monarchy into those territories, such commercial advantages as would indemnify her for the union of Portugal with France, and the accession to our enemy of the important port of Lisbon, the best calculated, in point of situation, to harass our commerce, and without free access to which, the whole line of coasts from the Baltic to the extremity of the Gulph of Venice, would belong to that enemy. Let us consider, that the moment the destruction of

the Portuguese monarchy is accomplished, that moment the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, containing from fourteen to fifteen millions of men naturally warlike, all her riches both natural and acquired, in a word, immense resources of every description, now paralyzed by her divisions and the weakness of her counsels, will fall into the hands of our implacable enemy, who will not fail to restore them to life and motion in order to turn them to our destruction.—— What, then, is this mighty advantage which we are to purchase at so great a hazard? Is it the exclusive possession of the *trade and navigation* of the Brazils?—The *trade!* that we possess already, either directly or by contraband. Portugal, almost without manufactures, and the Brazils still more so, use scarcely any materials but the produce of our industry. The *navigation!* No; for can the paltry advantage arising from the hire of a few vessels, be put in competition with those higher considerations which I have endeavoured to develop? Besides, will not the Brazillians, become independent, be able to create manufactories and a navy of their own? For a considerable part of the year their slaves are entirely idle; their climate is peculiarly adapted to the merchandize of India; their riches as well as disposition incline them to the enjoyment of those objects of luxury and elegance which France produces; their geographical situation is particularly favourable to a traffic with Africa, India, and China; the passage is familiar to them, and their language is the language of commerce. The Brazils, become independent, would become also, in a very short time, the centre of a contraband traffic highly alarming to our East India Company. The Brazils are equally well situated for a commerce with the South Sea. Let us not hasten, then, at our own expense, the developement of these germs of commerce and industry, which a crisis, brought on by our rashness, can so easily ripen into activity. Let us maturely consider the prospect before us, and, profiting by the past, proceed with the utmost circumspection. Let us call to our recollection the outcry that was raised by our merchants against the Marquis de Pombal, because he endeavoured to restore the industry of Portugal. The ministers of that day wisely despised the unjust clamours of frightened avarice, and experience has taught us, that the efforts of the Portuguese government produced little or no effect in favour of Portuguese industry, but much for the prosperity of the Brazils; whose population and culture have more than doubled since that period, and whose consequent prosperity has been highly beneficial to Great Britain.—— I trust, Sir, that what I have said will be sufficient to convince your readers, that as the honour of the nation forbids us to abandon Portugal, our oldest ally, so our interest, in unison with that honour, dictates the same line of conduct towards her.——I am, Sir, &c.—— B. L. *Nov.* 28, 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

High Prices.——This is a subject not new to the readers of the Register; but it is now, and must ever be, worthy of their attention. They will do this work the justice to acknowledge, that, with respect to its observations upon the causes and effects of a dearth of provisions, it did not wait till the dearth came, and then set up a cry against the persons who deal in provisions. During the latter part of last year, and still more frequently during the former part of the present year, while provisions of every sort, particularly bread, fell below what might be regarded as a reasonable price, and when the ministers seemed to have left the contingency of dearth entirely out of all their calculations; nay, before, while the dear good man Mr. Addington, was, with eyes half-shut, swimming along in the milk and honey of the peace of Amiens, and while "the pilot that "weathered the storm" was, with feelings apparently not less complacent, listening to the melodious sounds of Mr. Canning; even then I endeavoured to prepare the public mind for the circumstances that would attend a return of dearth. When, in July last, the Corn Bill was going through the almost empty Houses of Parliament, I thought it necessary to repeat the warnings I had before given, and to endeavour to prevent the consummation of that measure *. Since that time, perceiving that a very great advance in prices was about to take place, I took an early opportunity to endeavour to place in a true light the question relative to the effect which the different states of war and peace have upon the price of bread; and, I think, it was then satisfactorily proved, that a state of war, considered merely in opposition to a state of peace, does not tend, and never has tended, to increase the price of that most necessary article of human subsistence †. In a subsequent Register ‡, the subject was revived; and, an article tending to create popular prejudice and fury against the farmers having been published in a Portsmouth newspaper, some remarks were made with a design to counteract the effects

* See present Volume, p. 82. † Ibid p. 235. ‡ Ibid p. 309.

of such publications, and to prevent a repetition of the publications themselves.——If it be the desire of the minister to prevent the dearth of provisions from being accompanied with popular discontent and tumult, one would think that his writers would heartily second efforts of this sort, particularly those which tend to remove the prejudices existing against the growers, the dealers, and all other persons concerned in producing and vending provisions; but, it will appear evident from the following extracts, that those writers have uniformly pursued a directly contrary course. ——The rise in the price of barley, which has, of course, kept a pretty even pace with the rise in the price of wheat necessarily produced a rise in that of malt, which, in its turn, must as necessarily cause either a rise in the price or a falling off in the quality of porter. Notwithstanding this evident necessity, however, the philosophers, to whom the clerks of the Treasury have, in their wisdom, thought proper to commit the defence of the minister and his measures, and who had, without a single audible murmur, seen the quartern-loaf rise, in the space of four months, from eight pence farthing to fourteen pence; these philosophers, the moment a notice was given for augmenting the price of porter in the amount of one fifth of its former price, burst forth all at once, like the winds from the cavern of Æolus.——The Times, ever the first in servility, folly, and mischief, took the lead. "The price of "porter," said that paper of the 15th of November, "will this day be raised to sixpence "the pot, the brewers having determined to "advance that necessary article eleven shil-"lings in the barrel to the retail dealer. In "consequence of this *exorbitant increase*, the "owners of all public houses within the "bills of mortality have apprized their cus-"tomers that, from this day, they would be "under the necessity of adding one penny "per quart to the former price of that beve-"rage. The public have a right to be satis-"fied on this point; and the few great com-"panies to whom the brewing of porter is "almost exclusively confined, are bound to "shew that an additional *impost*, which "bears so hard upon the *laborious classes* of "the community, has not arisen from any "*sordid or interested speculations*. The "price of barley, we find, experienced a rise "of full twelve shillings per quarter at Mon-"day's market; still we do not consider the "price of that material as warranting the "sudden imposition of so *exorbitant a tax* "upon the consumer of porter, as the ad-"vance of a penny upon the former price. "It is well known, that the two last years "have been very productive to the brewers. "Beer is so decidedly an article of the ne-"cessaries of life, that any unexpected ad-"vance of it will *certainly produce a spirit* "*of dissatisfaction*, which, though it might "not occasion any extraordinary or dange-"rous commotion, must still be considered "as liable to produce those ebullitions of "discontent which happen at no time with-"out inconvenience, but at the present mo-"ment must be particularly injurious, when "*unanimity is so essentially necessary to* "*the great cause in which we are engaged*, "*and without which that cause cannot be* "*crowned with success*." So; the cause of the country is here made to depend, in some degree at least, upon the price of porter! What! after all the boastings about our 480,000 volunteers; after all the talk about a people in arms for the defence of their country; after vauntings before unparalleled in the world, are we seriously to be told, that some half score of brewers can endanger the safety of the state! The inference to be drawn from this person's argument, is, that the brewers must not raise the price of their porter; and, of course, he means that they must not lower its quality, for that is the same thing; and this ruin they must bring upon themselves, for what? Lest there should arise commotions from a contrary conduct on their part; lest the peace of the country should be disturbed; lest the patriotism of the people should be turned into discontent; lest the country should not be defended; lest Napoleon should "swallow us up quick," just as a coal-heaver swallows a pot of porter! Observe the phrases that this Treasury writer deals in. But, of that more particularly, when we have heard his fellow-labourers.——The Oracle, of the same date as above mentioned, contained the following passage. "Porter rises this day to the pub-"lic, so as to be sold at sixpence per quart, "and that of such a quality as has for so "long a time been *obtruded* on the public, "to the great *injury of their constitutions*, "and at so high as the then price of 5*d.* per "quart. Even when malt was under fifty "shillings per quarter we heard of no re-"duction being intended, nor if it were less "would that have been the case; but im-"mediately on the rise, dash comes the "brewer, with much more than an equiva-"lent, supposing the former was an equal "price. The distillers, *good men*, are de-"termined not to be behind hand with the "porter brewers, and have risen the price of "their inferior spirits two several nine-"pences per gallon within these three "weeks." This writer does not appear to

insist upon the absolute necessity of spirits; but he seems to carry his notions respecting porter to an uncommon length, though his censure upon the brewers has in it a great mixture of absurdity. He comes forward as a natural as well as a political philosopher. But, if the brewers really had "obtruded" their porter upon the public; and, if it be true, that such obtrusion had greatly "injured the constitutions" of the said public, ought he not to have rejoiced rather than complained at the adoption of a measure, which, if it produced any effect at all, must have lessened the quantity of porter consumed?——That pink of patriotism and philosophy, the Editor of the MORNING POST, comes next. "It is," says he in his paper of the same date, "it is said that the porter "brewers have given notice to the publicans, that from this time they will be under the necessity of raising the price of "porter a penny in the quart. *A more extraordinary proceeding has rarely been heard of.* We know not upon what ground so "extraordinary an advance can possibly be "justified. *Government it is said, have a "plan in contemplation, which it is expected "will completely counteract the schemes of the "monopolizers of grain*—wretches, who, "while *fattening on* the *vitals of the poor*, "are deaf to their calamities, and care not "who starve, if *their coffers are filled.*" Observe well what is said here of the intentions of *government*; and, recollect that this philosopher is a Treasury writer; a perfect tool; a man without a single idea to commit to paper till he receives the word of command. "*Government* have a plan in contemplation to counteract the schemes of "the monopolizers of grain, wretches who "fatten on the vitals of the poor!" I beseech the reader to remember these words.—Besides the threats thus thrown out against the brewers, a society, or pretended society, or combination, was brought forward and exhibited, *in terrorem*. The article (it was a circular one, and appeared in all the newspapers) is worth preserving. It will hereafter be cited as a mark of the brutal stupidity of the age of bank notes. "Yesterday" (the 20th of November) "a meeting was "held at the London Tavern of the subscribers to the new establishment for "brewing genuine malt-liquor, Mr. W. Hall "in the chair. The chairman opened the "business in a neat speech, and the assembly consisted of upwards of three hundred subscribers. The resolutions being "read, several verbal alterations were proposed, after which the resolutions were "unanimously agreed to. The opinions of "two eminent lawyers were then read, "which gave every necessary satisfaction "to the meeting, as being decided and unequivocal in the legality and justice of the "intended institution. We never saw so "large an assemblage where so much order, "decorum, and propriety prevailed; every "gentleman offered his opinion without interruption, and every article of the rules "and regulations were discussed with temper, and altered or approved according to "the unanimous voice of the subscribers. It "appeared from the statements made that "the sum of money subscribed, and the "subscriptions, of which notice has been "given, exceeds 50,000*l*. Such was the "impression made by the disclosure of the "plan, on which this establishment is to be "carried on, that the subscribers took additional shares, to a considerable amount. "Thanks were then returned to the chairman, and every person present retired, "thoroughly convinced, that an institution, "which has prospered so much in the course "of about five weeks, must be eminently "successful in the result. Indeed, the harmony that prevailed among the parties, "augurs, to a certainty, that the plan cannot fail of answering the most sanguine "expectations of the subscribers, and the "public, who are also materially interested "in the undertaking." What delicious nonsense! A perfect repetition of the "London Flour-Company" project. There was a special act of parliament passed for the establishment of that company; the accounts of the treasurers, brokers, jobbers, millers, bakers, drivers, porters, watchmen, and sweepers, were regularly laid before parliament, and thus the legislators of a great kingdom became check-clerks of a mercantile concern! That company was intended to counteract the operations of the millers and bakers of the metroplis. It was to introduce, into general consumption, "cheap "and wholesome bread." The bread it made and sold produced illness wherever it was used, especially amongst children. After a short trial the project was abandoned, I believe, for I have not heard of it since the spring of 1801. And, my readers may be assured, that this porter-company project will prove equally abortive. "Lawful!" Oh dear, yes! it is lawful enough: there needed no learned man to tell the meeting that: but, though quite lawful, it was very foolish indeed: no one can indict the ring-leaders, but any one may laugh at them.—The effect of the aforementioned efforts of the press was a relinquishment, on the part of the brewers, of the intended advance in

the price of their porter. The advance had actually taken place: porter was, for two days, sold at sixpence a quart. As soon, therefore, as it was known that the brewers had retracted, the ministerial papers began to shout victory, not unaccompanied with threats of vengeance upon the defeated enemy, to whom they seemed, as is always the case with such victors, disposed to grant neither quarter nor mercy. They called aloud for the *names* of the particular brewers who had begun to advance the price of porter, in order that the public might be made acquainted with them. The philosopher of the Morning Post, in that print of the 20th of November, made the following remarks. "The *public indignation* against the extraordinary and unjust rise of porter, has been "so strongly manifested, that the quart has "already returned to its former price of five "pence. We have been informed, that it "was by no means the unanimous act of the "trade; that but few persons attended at the "meeting, when it was agreed to raise the "price; that the gentlemen concerned in "two respectable firms allow, there was no "necessity whatever for such an extravagant "increase, and have, much to their honour, "and, we trust, ultimate advantage, refused "to concur in that combination, which "would have raised the price of that neces-"sary article to sixpence a quart." The sage who conducts the SUN, struck upon the same key, in the evening of the 20th of November. "Though," says he, "the brewers "have thought it *necessary to retract* a mea-"sure that excited *general indignation*, and "that did not appear to be warranted, it is "to be hoped that the public will be *inform-"ed of the names* of those who adopted this "measure, and of those whose manly and "disinterested spirit occasioned its revoca-"tion." Now, let it be well remembered, that this article is taken from a paper, which was established by the Treasury, and which, as one might naturally expect, has always been under the absolute control of the clerks in that department.——This threat of publishing the names, which was, in other words, to threaten the brewers with the vengeance of the populace, appears to have terrified an old man, named MEUX, so as to induce him to implore these dispensers of protection to inform the public that *he* was not one of those who had proposed to raise the price of porter; and, accordingly, the following paragraph was published in all the ministerial prints. It is quoted now from the COURIER, the patriotic Courier! of the 22d of November: "We are authorized to say, that Mr. "Meux, sen. who built that extensive brew-"ery, and raised the trade in Liquor-Pond-"Street, is totally averse to the present talk-"ed-of rise of porter, till absolutely neces-"sary, or till a new duty is imposed upon "that article; he being (at present) out of "trade, declares, that he *knew nothing of "the brewers' intention*; nor was he consult-"ed on such an *extraordinary measure*, which "considering all things, he thinks *highly "impolitic* and injudicious. The public have "to thank that gentleman for his discern-"ment a few years ago, when the whole "trade wanted to advance the price of that "necessary beverage, and which he stoutly "resisted for four years, till a new duty took "place." Whether Mr. MEUX did authorize them to say this, it would be troublesome to find out; and, as to the number of guineas, or of pounds in bank notes, that he might pay to each individual philosopher upon the occasion, that is a matter with which neither I nor the public have any thing to do. But, the principle remains the same. We see a brewer exhibited before the public in a way which throws censure on his brother brewers, and in which he appears to think it necessary to show that he was not guilty of an attempt to raise the price of his goods; and, it is evident, that he has been induced so to exhibit himself from an apprehension of being confounded with those brewers who had attempted to raise the price of porter, and to whose persons and property danger might be expected.——Whether the philosophers were in hopes of bringing forward many other persons in the same way as Mr. MEUX I know not: if they were, however, their hopes were baffled; and, at the end of about four days, they appeared to be willing to drop their pursuit of the brewers, sending them off with a sort of menace, as in the following article from the ORACLE of the 24th of November. "Every day since "the *triumph of the public over the avarice "of the brewers*, we have seen paragraphs in "the different papers, stating, on authority, "who among them were hostile to the pro-"posed imposition, by which it is made dif-"ficult to find out who were for it. From "this it appears (some sign of grace) that "all are ashamed of the business."—Having gained a victory over the brewers; or, at least, an imaginary victory, the philosophers seem to have begun to direct their attention towards the *coal-merchants*; and with reason; for what is porter without a good fire to drink it by? I shall cite but one instance of the efforts of the philosophers in this way. "Coals not-"withstanding the arrival of upwards of 200 "colliers in the port—the certainty of ab-

" other fleet soon arriving, and probably " some of these taking another trip this sea- " son—this very necessary article of fuel " advances gradually in price: the best coals " are £3. 3s. 6d. in the Pool; add to this " 12s. the charges of lighterage, cartage, " and delivery to the housekeepers, and the " cost will be upwards of two shillings per " bushel at the first hand, and best price. " SOME MEANS *will surely be taken to reduce* " this heavy price!" ORACLE, 21st Nov. What " means" the philosopher pointed towards one cannot say; but, it is clear that he thought a triumph over the coal-merchants would quickly succeed the triumph over the brewers; not recollecting, that the *Thames* was close at hand, whereas the *coal-mines* were at a very great distance. It is likely that the clerks of the Treasury found out this circumstance; for the philosopher of the Oracle did not repeat his demand respecting coals, and none of the others attempted to meddle with the subject; yet, except as to the inability in the one case, and ability in the other, of lowering the quality of the goods, there is no reason at all why the coal-merchants should not have been vanquished as well as the brewers. The brewers are, however, in truth, not vanquished at all. They saw that a clamour was rising against them, and they gave way: but, is there any one weak enough to believe, that they will not lower the quality of their porter? Is there folly so complete as to induce any one to imagine, that the brewers will carry on a trade that they lose money by? That they will (being kept to the same price) make as strong porter when malt is 90 shillings a quarter as they did when it was " under 50 shillings?" But, we are reminded of the great profits which they derived when the price of malt was so low. We are told, that they have had two amazingly profitable years: and hence we are to conclude that they can now afford to carry on their business without any profit; or, even to a loss. Is this agreeable to reason? Is it agreeable to the practice of any trade? Has not a directly contrary principle been acted upon by the Parliament in raising the premium upon the exportation of corn the moment it became, to use the language of Mr. Pitt " too cheap " to yield the grower a fair profit?" Why were not the years of high prices of barley and wheat taken into consideration in that case? In that case we not only allowed the farmers to sell as dear as they could; but we very unwisely raised taxes to pay them for selling dearer than they could sell at home! No, no; the brewers, be assured, made their porter stronger and stronger in proportion as the malt grew cheap; else they would have met with a rivalship in other brewers; and, it is equally certain, that they will now reduce the *quality* of their porter, having been deterred from augmenting its price. Just such a cry, and with the same sort of success, was, in the year 1794, set up by the philosophers of Philadelphia against a proposed rise in the price of milk; whereupon the milk man who supplied me, observed: " if they will not let me raise my price, the " pump must raise my pail." It did so too. After the clamour of a month or so was over, we were very glad to pay an advanced price; and, as the philosophers had, by that time, raised the price of their newspapers, no further complaint was ever heard upon the subject. So must it now be with regard to porter. The nominal price may continue the same; but the real price will be raised by the diminution of strength in the liquor; until, if the folly should continue for any length of time, there will be *two sorts* of porter (under different names perhaps), and every body will soon drink the *dearest*, because it will be the best, and, in reality, the *cheapest*.——Nevertheless the evils attending these doctrines of the philosophers may be very great. They have obtained no victory over the brewers; but they think they have; and so think many of their readers; a delusion that would be amusing enough, were it not much to be feared, that it will encourage both the philosophers and the people to endeavour to *force* down the price of commodities of which the quality cannot be lowered; the manufacturer or vender of which cannot preserve himself from ruin merely by the turning of a water cock. Thus, in the instance of *coals*, the writings of the philosophers have produced no effect. If they could cause the present stock of coals to be sold cheaper than the venders propose to sell them, the consequence would be, that those venders would cause no more coals to be brought to London; for they cannot augment the quantity of their coals, as the brewers can and will the quantity of their porter, by an additional draught upon father Thames. So also with respect to BREAD. Much have the ministerial philosophers written; but they have produced no effect upon the baker; because, if he does not raise his price he must starve himself, rather than which he will leave off baking: and, this reasoning applies equally well to the flour-man, the miller, the corn-dealer, and the farmer. —— Obvious as one would think all this must be to every man of common sense, the philosophers have not forborne to push their principles forward here

also, and in a way calculated to produce very great mischief. I shall only quote the ORACLE of the 22d and of the 24th of November, as that paper seems, upon this part of the subject, to have expressed, in substance, what has been advanced by all the other ministerial prints. The article of the 22d is as follows: "The corn-market, in "*despite of all calculation*, continues rather "on the increase than the decline, as was "*fondly* hoped and expected." [Not in despite of *all* calculation, good philosopher; for I myself told you so long ago as the second week in August, that corn would be high priced this winter, and that we were, in my opinion, entering upon the first of two years of high price.* Yes, *you* "fondly" hoped and expected; but why did you? Fondly enough, indeed; but whose fault was that? Why were you so foolish? Why were you not seeking after useful knowledge, instead of racking your brain for phrases to make up a description of the triumph of Lord Melville over the French flotilla, and of the wisdom of Mr. Pitt and Lord Harrowby, who, "with "eager expectation, viewed the glorious a-"chievement from the battlements of Wal-"mer Castle?" If, instead of extolling this their expectation, which was to the full as *fond* as your own, you had been listening to the voice of truth and reason, you would not then have sold yourself and your masters to laughter, nor would you now be daily exposing your mischievous ignorance.] "Yes-"terday the prices of fine wheats and flour "experienced a rise of full 4s. per quarter, "or sack; but the supply was so small, and "the real bargains so narrowed, in hopes of "the prices being lower, that it will make "very little odds in the average, which we "have reason to hope will be lower.—Coals "continue the same, or with little variation. "If any thing, the best coals are dearer.— "In no article is the public more *imposed* "*upon* than in that of butcher's meat; it is "a well known fact, that cattle of the best "quality have been sold at Smithfield for "many market days past, at such a price, "that the Cutting Butchers could afford to "sell any joint at 7d per pound, and that "with a good profit; whereas any thing "above legs and shins, however inferior, "are sold at 7d. 8d. or 9d., and for roast-"ing-pieces they demand from 10d. to 1s. "per pound. In pork, particularly, the "*profit they charge is enormous*; sides of "young pork, of the best quality, can be "bought in Leadenhall-market at the price "of 3s. 8d. to 4s. per stone of eight pounds; "but at no pork shop can it be obtained at "less than from 10d. to 1s. per pound, "which is a heavy advance." This philosopher seems to be tolerably well skilled in the art of slaughtering; and, indeed, I am persuaded the public will think with me, that no small portion of his life must have been spent in a butcher's shop. It has been remarked, that apostates generally become the most furious persecutors of the body from which they have apostatized (a maxim which has, of late years, been strikingly verified in the conduct of a well-known anti-roman catholic pamphleteer); and, it may, perhaps, be the same with renegado butchers. But, whether this philosopher, this oracular gentleman, did formerly inhabit the shambles or not, no man of sense and reason will approve of his representing the butchers as *cheats*, as men *imposing upon* the public, merely because they sell their property for as much as it will fetch in open market; that is to say, for exactly as much as it is worth at the hour when they sell it, and for not a single mite more. If he himself thinks he pays more for his meat than the meat is worth, why does he not slaughter again for himself? Because it would then cost him much more than he is now obliged to give for it. And this is the reason why all men prefer dealing with the butchers. In the early part of 1801, some of the wise men in the city of London formed the resolution of lowering the price of butcher's meat. They applied some of their public buildings to this laudable purpose. The butchers kept on their steady course; they still sold as dear as ever; and those of their customers, who ran after their new-fangled rivals, were soon glad to return. There was always a something that rendered the butcher still the best man to purchase of. The project proved abortive. It is now, amongst the butchers, just what the catamaran project is amongst sailors, and what Mr. Pitt's volunteering is amongst all military men who dare speak their sentiments; that is to say, a standing subject of ridicule and contempt.——The second article above spoken of, dated the 24th of November, is rather more scurrilous than the former. "The *rogues in grain* are "not the only set at whom the people have "*cause to murmur*; it is a known fact, that "cattle of the best quality have been sold "at Smithfield, for many market-days past, "at such a price that the Cutting Butchers "could afford to sell any joint at 7d per lb; "and that with a good profit; whereas none "but the most inferior parts can be had un-"der from 8d. to 11d. In pork, likewise, "the profit they charge is enormous; sides

* Regist. Vol. II. p. 24.

"of prime young pork can be bought in "the market, at from 3s. 8d. to 4s. per stone "of 8lb. but at few shops can it be bought "under 10d. or 11d. per lb." Thus, every one, who deals in the necessaries of life, is represented as a just object of the indignation of the people. From indignation to resentment, and from resentment to vengeance, the progress is very natural, and not more natural than rapid. What a scandalous thing it is, that the ministers do not silence these mischief-hatching babblers! As to their power so to do no one that knows any thing of the London newspaper press can entertain the slightest doubt; and therefore, there is really some reason to believe, that their clerks purposely permit these attacks upon the inoffensive dealers in provisions, in order to turn the attention of the suffering people from that share of the real cause, which is to be found in the measures of government and in the paper-money system of the minister. As I before observed, the ministerial philosophers, with whose lucubrations I have just surfeited the reader, saw the quartern loaf rise from 8d. ¼ to 1s. 2d. without uttering so much as a murmur. But, the reason of their silence so far, was this; they thought, with their usual sagacity, that the rise would be temporary; and they were afraid to make a clamour against the high price, lest their clamours should come to the support of the predictions of those who opposed the *corn-bill*, which the minister had passed at the close of the last session of Parliament. The rise in the price of porter touched them closer in a personal sense; and, besides, in their muddled heads, the chain of effects from the corn-bill to the price of porter was not so conspicuous; though it is very hard to conceive why it should not, seeing that out of barley comes porter rather more directly than bread comes out of wheat, and seeing also, that the corn-bill was passed upon the petition of the "barley growers" and not of the wheat growers.* Upon this bill, upon the reports whereon it was passed, upon the speeches of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Western, as well as upon the principle and policy of the bill, I shall hereafter have occasion to remark; and, I trust I shall be able to shew, that the man who could urge the passing of such a bill, must either be actuated by some motive other than the one professed, or must be destitute of the powers of solid reflection, or must never have reflected upon the subject. For the present, I shall confine myself to little more than a repetition of what I have said upon former occasions; and that is, that the sudden rise in the price of bread (and other articles of course) proceeds, 1. from a deficient harvest; 2. from the effect of the corn-bill; 3 from the effect of paper-money in times of dearth. That the volunteer system has contributed to the deficiency of the harvest there can be no doubt. During the fourteen months, beginning in July 1803, and ending in September 1804, there were, perhaps, 100,000 agriculturists engaged part of their time in the volunteer service. I do not think this is too large an estimate. Nay, I believe, I shall be thought under the mark. Now, when the reader is informed, and I am ready at any time to establish the position, that there are not 500,000 active labouring agriculturists in England and Wales, I am persuaded, that he will not hesitate to agree with me, that the occasional diversion of the labour of 100 000 of the best labourers must have considerably substracted from those means by which alone crops of corn are produced. Recollect, too, that the space of time, since the volunteer system began to operate, embraces *two seed-times* and *two harvests*; and, it may be recollected, that I cautioned Mr. Yorke against the enforcing of the original Defence Bill during seed time particularly. Some smooth little Downing street clerk will say: "Here's "Cobbett pretends that the farmers have "sowed less corn on account of the volun-"teer system!" No; I pretend no such thing; but, that they have reaped less, on that account, every farmer in the kingdom is ready to declare; and, indeed, have we not, in the memorable instance of farmer Morison and the Scotch Lord Advocate, quite a sufficient proof of the feelings which the volunteer system excited amongst those whose men were thereby taken from their labour? In the whole kingdom you could not, perhaps, find a farmer who could say, that he has sowed a field less, on account of the volunteer-system; but, in every country-parish in the kingdom, you will find farmers ready to show, that their land has been, on account of that system, worse tilled; that their cattle, their folds, their yards, and their fences have been worse attended to; that their crops have been worse gathered-in; and, of course, that their farms have produced less food than they would have done, had the volunteer-system not existed. ——In deferring my observations upon the effects of the corn-bill and of the paper-money, I should here conclude this article; but, I cannot, at a time when ignorance, with open throat and lungs of Stentor, is

* See the Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, printed 14th of May, and 14th of June, 1804.

railing against those who are employed in growing corn and making it into bread; I cannot, at such a time, refrain from directing the attention of my readers to those persons who have contributed towards the perpetuating of this pernicious ignorance; and, amongst these, the Rev. ROBERT NARES, Archdeacon of Stafford, Canon residentiary of Litchfield, Librarian at the British Museum, and Editor of the British Critic, seems to merit particular notice. This person, from whose pen any one, acquainted merely with his titles and functions, would naturally expect nothing calculated to foster ignorance such as that of which I have been endeavouring to show the dangerous tendency; this person, to whom, from his situation in society, one could have wished to look as a teacher of the ignorant, has, in a sermon entitled, "*A "Thanksgiving for Plenty, and a Warning "against Avarice*," discovered a degree of perverseness, or of prejudice and ignorance, rarely to be met with, even amongst the very lowest, most illiterate, and unreflecting part of the people. He accuses the *farmers* of *cruelty* and *avarice*; renews the senseless cry of *monopoly*; suggests the propriety of introducing *excisemen into barns and granaries*; and proposes the inflicting of *heavy penalties* upon those farmers and others, in whose possession corn, beyond a certain quantity, *to be fixed by law*, should be found. "This style of reasoning," say the Edinburgh Reviewers, "is pardonable enough "in those who argue from the belly, rather "than the brains; but, in a well-fed and "well-educated clergyman, who has never "been disturbed, by hunger, from the free "exercise of cultivated talents, it merits "the severest reprehension." To say the truth, these Reviewers, who are clear another sort of men than Mr. Nares and his brethren of the British Critic, have reprehended him pretty severely. They have, in a very short compass, satisfactorily proved, that political economy and theological metaphysics are subjects to the discussing of which his noddle is by no means adapted. But, must it not be deeply mortifying to every one who feels for the honour of the Church of England, to see nonsense such as that above described coming from the pen of an Archdeacon and a Residentiary Canon! As to his Reviewership he does not there appear in his proper name and rank; and, though one might wish not to see a Librarian of the British Museum exhibiting such infallible proofs of a want of the powers of thinking; yet, viewing him merely in these situations, the mortification is trifling compared to that which we experience when we consider him as a dignitary of the Church; for then, the question that forces itself forward in the mind of every man, is: "what must that "Church be, of which such is the knowledge and such are the talents of the dignitaries?" The "cruelty" and "avarice" of the farmers! "*Excisemen*" to visit barns and granaries! And these are the notions that emanate from the mind of a "well-educated" man, are they? If this be the case, God preserve those whom I love from being "well-educated!" If such be the produce of Mr. Nares's twenty years of study, under the tuition of half a score of masters, it would have been much better to let his mind lie fallow, its sterility not exposed by abortive attempts at cultivation, or, at least, not rendered ridiculous by the ostentatious display of Latin and Greek, which, from the lips of a barren head, drop like human language from the beak of a parrot.

MINISTERIAL INTRIGUES.—(Continued from p. 831.) In general I am not desirous to pursue a dispute very far with the writers of the Minister. To have the last word is, at best, but a childish wish; but, upon a subject like this, the effect of repetition should be risked rather than suffer any misapprehension or doubt to remain in the mind of the public. Seeing that the ministerial intrigues have failed, it was my intention to say very little more about them at present; and, though the following article from the Morning Post of the 28th ultimo might warrant a commentary of some length, I shall do little more than lay it before my readers, leaving them to draw the inference, to which it so evidently leads. "Entertaining nothing but calm contempt for the "*virulent* and *scurrilous* observations, which "*envious malignity* is so fretfully anxious to "point against us, we again repeat, and we "shall always be forward to repeat our "wishes, that the late happy and auspicious "reconciliation had been followed up by all "the beneficial consequences that were generally expected should have flowed from "it. We shall be always ready to repeat "wishes, the realizing of which would have "so materially tended to unite the hearts, "increase the confidence, and consolidate "the strength of the empire. As no malignity of misrepresentation can deter us "from the expression of these wishes, neither shall any petulance of provocation betray us into any rash and *precipitate disclosure* of the causes that have principally "contributed to the *frustration of the public hopes*. In any thing we have hitherto remarked upon this delicate subject, we "never adverted, even in the remotest

" ner, to the views of any minister, to the " intrigues of any party: but if it be true, " as has been so pertinaciously asserted, that " nothing of a political nature *ever attended* " or followed that wished-for reconciliation, " with what consistency can it be supposed " by those who deny the fact, that *no overtures have been accepted.* Could that have " been accepted which was never offered? " and if any overtures have been of a poli- " tical tendency, it follows even in the " avowal of our adversaries, that, so far at " least, *steps had been taken towards entering* " *upon a negociation for some political ar-* " *rangement.* But we shall with hold any " further remark for the present on this " matter, for reasons which have already im- " posed upon us the silence of prudence and " respect." One cannot help admiring that prudence and circumspection, which induce this gentleman to seal up his lips after he has divulged his secret; as also that respect, which makes him refrain from connecting the royal reconciliation with party arrangements, after he has, for several days successively so connected them ——The Register is, as far as I have observed, the only print, in which the " sublime expectations" of the Morning Post have been commented on; and, is it true, that the comment was " virulent and scurrilous," and that it indicated " malignity," and more especially " *envious* malignity!" But, this is the common-place whine of a defeated disputant ——The gentleman will not suffer himself, it seems, to be provoked into " any rash and " precipitate disclosure of the causes that " have principally contributed to the *frustra-* " *tion of the public hopes.*" The hopes of the public, properly so called, the hopes of the people of England, have not been frustrated: they have, on the contrary been confirmed and strengthened by the conduct of the Prince and his real friends. The hopes of those who exist only by the effect of those causes which have produced their country's decline, and which, if not removed, must produce its fall; the hopes of such persons may have been frustrated, and, indeed, they have been frustrated. But, after all, the frustration has, then actually taken place, it seems, though we were so positively assured, that the " political ar- " rangements consequent upon the royal " reconciliation" would infallibly go into effect! ——What! did I ever say, that " nothing of a political nature ever *attended* " or *followed* the reconciliation?" Did I ever say this? This Morning Post gentleman said that much of a political nature did immediately follow; and, as I naturally supposed him to have been informed on the part of the Treasury clerks, I only took the liberty of denying, that either of the royal parties, or that any of the Opposition, had entertained any political views in connexion with the reconciliation. Was it, therefore, at all inconsistent for me to say, at the same time, that no overtures, made on the part of the minister, had been accepted? " Could that have been accept- " ed which was never offered?" Why put this question to *me?* I have not said that nothing was *offered.* You said that much was offered: you congratulated the public upon the government (alias the ministry) being about to receive " the " powerful aid of Lord Moira, Mr Sheridan, " and Mr. Erskine, in the great council of " the nation." I denied this; but, did I ever deny that Mr. Pitt had made overtures to those gentlemen? Did I ever deny, that " steps had been taken towards entering " upon a negociation for some political " arrangement?" I never thought of making any such denial: on the contrary, I did then, and do now, firmly believe the fact. Three weeks ago, the Morning Post told us, that Lord Moira was *come up* from Scotland, and that Lord Harrowby was *gone down* to Bath: a few days back it told us, that Lord Moira was *gone down* to Scotland, and that Lord Harrowby was *come up* from Bath, and that he went immediately to a dinner with Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville. No sign of ill health, I take it! Whether the intelligence were correct, or otherwise, I do not pretend to determine; but, if it was, the ministerial writer will, perhaps, favour us with the reason of these sympathetic movements, at the time when prudence will release him from that restraint which now with-holds from us a developement of " the causes that have principally " contributed to the frustration" of the ministerial hopes. 'Till then, we must wait with respectful patience.——In the mean-time, however, though several other topics press upon me, and demand room, I cannot refrain from inserting another article, upon this subject, from the ministerial paper, called the COURIER. This article is not only demi-official, but it bears every mark of Treasury origin. For this reason, as well as for the purpose of shewing what miserable shifts the ministry are driven to, I shall insert the article entire, begging the reader to peruse it with very great attention. For the sake of brevity in the comment I will *number* the separate parts of the text.——1. " It is curious to hear " those who have expressed the sincerest " joy at a recent event, charged with " making attempts to give it the colour and

" complexion of an intrigue and party bu-
" siness, and with having hearts so strange-
" ly constituted, as to seek for a political
" and interested inducement in the dearest
" and holiest relations of life. We never
" suspected, we never said, that it was the
" effect of intrigue or party; we always
" gave the motive and the merit to the
" parent and the son, and not to mi-
" nisters or parties.——2. Had any one
" indeed suspected that the lamented
" breach, and the delay in putting an end
" to it, might have been the effect of in-
" trigue and party, we should not have
" been inclined to think *that suspicion* al-
" together without foundation.——3. We
" added, indeed, and we repeat, that *if*
" the reconciliation be, as we firmly be-
" lieve, *sincere* it must *have a political ten-*
" *dency*. And have those who are so anxi-
" ous to have it believed that nothing
" political led to or can grow out of it,
" forgotten that the differences were mere-
" ly political? To say then that the adjust-
" ment of such differences can have no
" political tendency, is to maintain one of
" the grossest absurdities.——4. Perhaps
" the enemies of His Majesty's *confidential*
" servants would be gratified could they
" persuade one of the illustrious personages
" to afford them the sanction of his name.
" But we leave it to the country to decide
" upon the sincerity of the joy which
" those persons have expressed at the re-
" conciliation, who would make that il-
" lustrious personage the head of a party
" to oppose *the men who are honoured with*
" *his father's countenance and confidence.*
" ——5. Who the violent partisans are,
" who " advertise and bruit abroad so
" " loudly, the necessity ministers may
" " lie under of supporting themselves by
" " some adventitious aid and body of as-
" " sistance," we confess we know not;
" but we suspect that those who cry out so
" loudly, are the persons who would be
" very glad if ministers would solicit their
" assistance. We have read in some old
" play, of a physician in distress, endea-
" vouring to persuade a very healthy man
" that he was going rapidly into a con-
" sumption, in order that he might be cal-
" led in. Perhaps the persons we have
" alluded to are acting with similar views
" with respect to His Majesty's ministers.
" ——6. What overtures have been made
" and accepted or rejected, what success
" has or has not, *as yet*, attended any ne-
" gociation; we know not. Strong in the
" justice of their cause, and in the sup-
" port of the country, we do not see
" that His Majesty's ministers need make
" any overtures to the party which ap-
" pears to take such uncommon pains
" to have it believed that their support
" is so desirable and so necessary."——
Taking these several parts in their numerical order, a very few words will suffice for each. — 1. What is there so very curious in our seeking for a political and interested inducement, where we were so plainly told that it existed? On the Monday the reconciliation took place; on the Wednesday the ministerial writers congratulated the public, they expressed their " fond hopes and high ex-
" pectations" of seeing " Lord Moira, Mr.
" Sheridan, and Mr. Erskine giving their
" powerful aid to the government (meaning
" the ministry) in the great council of the
" nation." Was it so very curious, then, for us to suppose, that, on one side, there were persons who wished to make a party business of the reconciliation?——2. So; now that the party intrigues have not succeeded, it is insinuated, that " the breach,
" and the delay in putting an end to it, were
" the effect of party intrigue." Not on the side of His Majesty and the ministers, of course; and, consequently, it must have been on the side of the Prince and his advisers, amongst, if not at the head of whom, be it observed, was that very nobleman, who has recently been so flattered by the ministerial writers, and to bring over whom, there is strong reason to believe, no ordinary exertions have been made. Observe, too, what an amiable light his Royal Highness is placed in by those, who, for reasons obvious enough, now, at last, wish to be numbered amongst those who entertain a due degree of respect for his person and character——3. What! " *must*" the reconciliation have a political tendency; or, " *must*" that reconciliation have been *insincere*? Cruel dilemma! for, there is every reason to believe that it has not had, and will not have, a political tendency. Who has attempted to maintain that the reconciliation " *can*" have no political tendency? We have only maintained that it *has* not had, and *will* not have such a tendency, in the sense in which the word tendency is here made use of. What signifies it whence the difference arose? All that we wanted was to see it done away, and the cause buried in oblivion: and the public will be at no loss to form a just judgment as to the conduct and character of those who are now endeavouring to revive it. Besides, according to this writer's mode of reasoning, the reconciliation must have been in itself political. The difference must have been discussed and settled; and, it is not at all difficult to perceive, that we are now wished to conclude, that the Prince has made con-

cessions to the minister. Indecent insinuation! This is, however, the colour which the partizans of the minister are *now* endeavouring to give to the transaction; as evidently appears from the whole of their proceedings. In a caricature-shop, which has always been devoted to the minister, and which has sometimes been, to a certain degree, *under the immediate control* of some of his "young friends;" in that shop, *since Lord Moira's return to Scotland*, there has been, and now is, exhibited, a picture intitled "THE RECONCILIATION," in which the Prince appears as the Prodigal Son, dressed in rags, and introduced to his father by Mr. Pitt on one side and Lord Moira on the other, with a quotation at the bottom, from the Gospel of St. Luke, descriptive of his sins, his miseries, and his repentance! This caricaturist formerly received a pension, which Mr. Addington, with great propriety, took from him; and which, I should hope, has not been renewed. I wish clearly to be understood here, as by no means insinuating that the minister, or any of his friends, have dictated, or encouraged, this scandalous outrage on the feelings of the Prince: unequivocally I declare, that I am convinced they have not; but, the outrage clearly shows what light the underlings of the ministry view the reconciliation in; for, be sure that this caricaturist never would have made this print, if he had not been fully persuaded that he was anticipating the wishes of his patrons.——4. The enemies of "His Majesty's *confidential* servants" (for, it seems, the nation is still to be insulted by the use of this phrase, this convenient shield against ministerial responsibility), "the enemies of "His Majesty's confidential servants," if the ministers will insist upon making the opposition their "enemies;" those persons do not, and have not, for any of their proceedings, sought the sanction of His Royal Highness's name. It is easy to bring forward charges of this sort; but, when, where, how, has the name of the exalted personage in question been made use of for purposes such as are alluded to by this writer? But, that which follows, under this head, is something worse than a plain unvarnished falsehood. The public are called upon to mistrust the sincerity expressed, on account of the reconciliation, by those, "who would make the Prince the head of a "party *to oppose the men who are honoured with* "*his father's countenance and confidence!*" Mark well the words, for they are of great account. There was no sincerity in our wishes to see the son of our sovereign reconciled to his royal father, because we might wish his Royal Highness still to keep aloof from Mr. Pitt, and still to give his countenance to those who are endeavouring to prevent the evils which they think the unbridled power of that minister would produce! For, further than this, who has ever expressed a desire to see his Royal Highness the head of a party? And, thus far if he did not go, what would be the opinions of mankind as to his estimation of that throne, of which he is destined to be the ornament; and also as to his love for that people, over whose honour, liberties, and happines, it not only will be, but is already, his duty to watch with much more anxiety than any other subject of the realm? But, observe; it is not his being the head of a party that gives offence; it is the purpose of the party that constitutes the impropriety: "a party *to oppose* the men "who are honoured with his father's countenance and confidence" Were it *to support*, instead of oppose these men, he might be the head of a party with all the propriety imaginable. It must be confessed, however, that his party would, in such case, be a very small one. He might be permitted to stand second or third after Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and George Rose! A table of small dimensions would suffice. Economy would enable him to face the effects of bank-restriction. And, as to grace, any one of Mr. Pitt's demure and "prudent young friends" would say it for him gratis. But, to return to the "con-"fidential servants," to those, who thus nestle themselves into the ermin of royalty. Who are they? Why, they are persons, who have at their head a man, who, only six months ago was zealously labouring, in conjunction with those persons whom the Prince then honoured, and still honours, with his countenance, to oppose, and to force from their places, the kings "con-"fidential servants"; yea the very men "who were honoured with his Ma-"jesty's countenance and confidence;" which men were, too, those whom he himself had publicly eulogized, and had recommended to the parliament and the nation! Now, behold! the principle is quite changed! Now, that this man is minister; now that *he* is the "confidential servant"; the Prince must countenance no one that opposes "his *father's* government"! Nay; the persons whom to oppose is now to be stigmatized as a breach of filial duty in the Prince, are, for the greater part, as to numbers, not only mere ministers, as the former ones were, but they are *the same identical men*, only rendered sacred by their association with Mr. Pitt! For cool insolence, this pretension is certainly unparalleled.

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